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GRAHAME CLARK AND SPAIN

MARGARITA DÍAZ-ANDREU

Abstract

This article explores how Grahame Clark's archaeology was received in Spain on the basis of the correspondence sent to three of the most important archaeologists of Francoist Spain (1936/39–1975), Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla (1905–1972), Luis Pericot García (1899–1978) and Martín Almagro Basch (1911–1984). The letters show that they exchanged the specialist journals published by the institutions they were involved with, in addition to other publications, and that Clark even lectured in Spain in 1952 and 1963. In the 1950s, he also encouraged several students to undertake research in Spain. Michael W. Thompson, John Evans and John Scantlebury were among the earliest to follow this route. Only the first of these successfully completed his research, but his move away from academia meant that his work failed to have the impact it would otherwise have had. After this first batch of students, others educated at Cambridge followed in the 1960s and 1970s, but none seems to have been directly connected to Clark. The second part of the article will undertake an analysis of the extent of Clark's influence on Spanish archaeology. Several aspects will be analysed, including the number of reviews of Clark's publications in Spanish journals and the translations into Spanish of his work. Some thought is given to the reasons for an interest in economic and social archaeology in Spain. Instead of seeing this as the result of Clark's influence, this article will suggest that a series of works in this area were an echo of the French Annales School, which entered Spain via the studies of the medieval and modern historian, Jaime Vicens Vives.

Introduction

As the shadows of World War II lengthened over Europe, he [Clark] castigated the exploitation of archaeology for "odious and predatory aims" by the fascist regimes of Germany and Italy. Mussolini's extravagant

excavations in Rome in the 1930s prompted the remark: "It is as though the monuments of ancient Rome had been left unveiled to stand as silent witnesses to the pomp of the pinchbeck Second Empire [...]". Clark inveighed against the moral bankruptcy of a scholarship that was aimed at giving Germans, through cultural superiority, their right to dominate and exterminate inferior neighbours. He called it "diseased nationalism". On the other hand archaeology had a modest role to play in evolving a world order that was a force for peace and in promoting notions of human unity (Fagan 2001, 107).

The impression that the reader gets from the above quotation related to Grahame Clark's book *Archaeology and Society* (1939) is of someone actively fighting against the fascist regimes of Europe. We are also told how Clark ended his last chapter "with a passionate attack on archaeology in the Communist world... Archaeology, like other sciences, primarily served society's aims and its political and economic theories. The task of a scholar in a totalitarian society was to interpret the past in the light of already established verities" (Fagan 2001: 107).

Was Clark an active fighter against totalitarianism? As will be shown in this article, his correspondence with Spanish archaeologists under the fascist-like Franco regime in Spain (1939–1975) seems to contradict this. However, this is far from suggesting that Clark was a Nazi sympathiser, an apparently persistent rumour that has been widely circulated (Smith 2009, 41). This article aims to look into the links between Clark and his Spanish colleagues in order to clarify the extent and nature of his relationship with archaeologists living under a dictatorial regime such as those living in Spain. As this article will show, there is evidence of an epistolary exchange between Clark and Spanish archaeologists from soon after the end of World War II. The connections established were not with minor archaeologists, but with the leading prehistorians in Spain and, therefore, with those who were either benefiting from the dictatorial regime or at least accepted it. Throughout practically the whole of the Francoist period, from a few months after the end of World War II through to, as far as we know, 1973, Clark corresponded with Spanish archaeologists, mainly with Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla, Luis Pericot García and Martín Almagro Basch. However, Clark was not the only one to exchange correspondence with these three archaeologists; British archaeologists as little suspect of right-wing leanings as Crawford and Childe also maintained a correspondence with them.

In this article, a total of sixty one letters sent by Clark to his Spanish colleagues will be analysed: nine sent to Martínez Santa-Olalla, thirty-eight to Pericot and thirteen to Almagro (see Table 1). In addition, there

are seven copies of Martínez Santa-Olalla's replies to him, a draft of a reply written by Pericot, eight letters by Almagro and one by Ripoll (none of them included in Table 1). As Table 1 shows, the archived correspondence on which this study is based mainly covers the 1940s, 1950s and early 1960s. It is the author's supposition that, if full access the correspondence between Clark and Almagro had been granted, the bars in table 1 for the 1960s and 70s would be as high as for the two earlier decades, for it was then when Almagro became Clark's main correspondent. This seems to be confirmed by the sample of letters found in Madrid from the early 1960s, in the archives of the Higher Council for Scientific Research (CSIC, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, the Spanish version of the French CNRS).

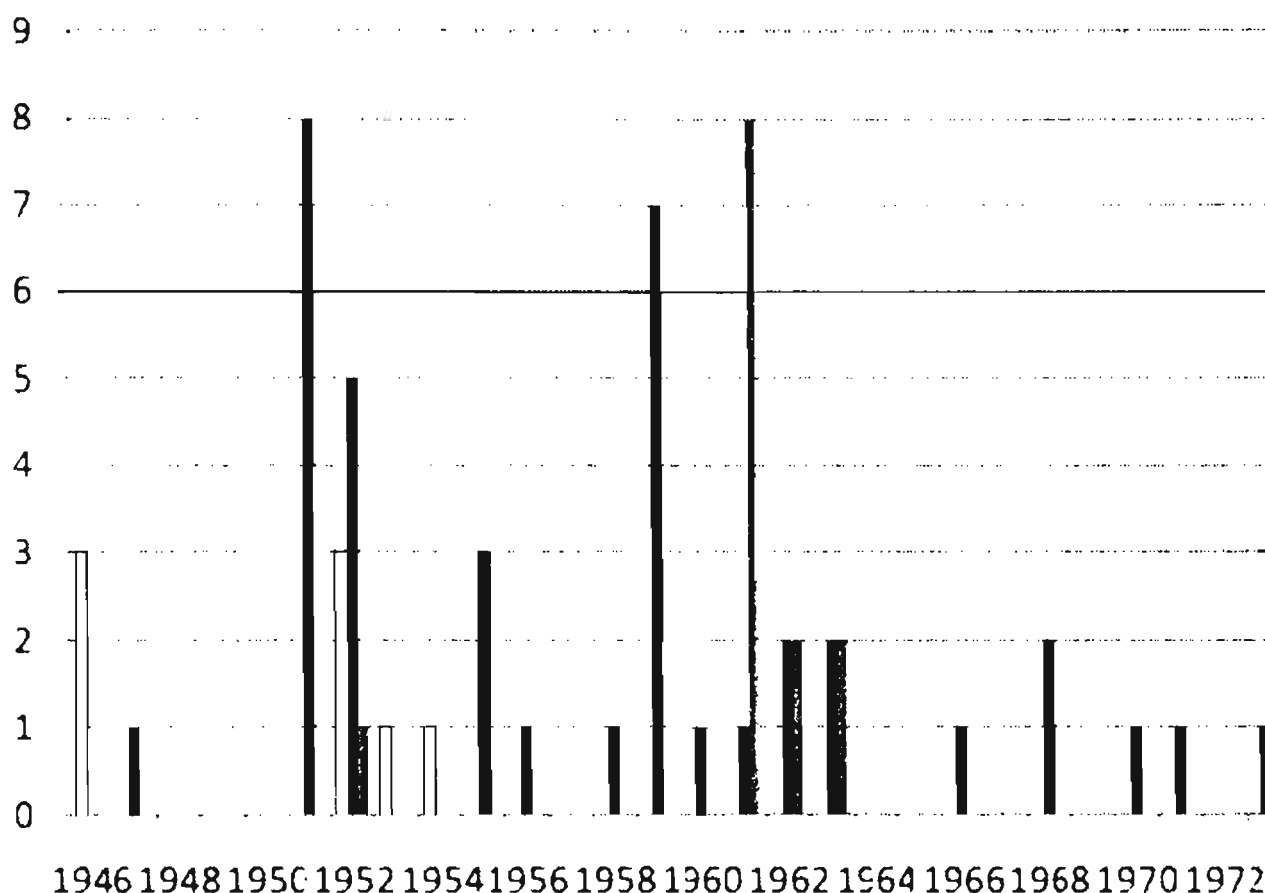


Table 1. Letters from Grahame Clark to Martínez Santa-Olalla (white), Pericot (black) and Almagro (grey).

The second part of the article will undertake an analysis of the extent of Clark's influence on Spanish archaeology. Several aspects will be analysed, including the number of reviews of Clark's publications in Spanish journals, the translations into Spanish of his work, and a certain emphasis on economic and social archaeology among Spanish prehistorians from the 1950s to the 1980s.

Preliminary notes

Several notes must be made with regard to the names used for institutions and people in this article. Firstly, all those from Barcelona are cited in Spanish, as that was the language Catalan archaeologists used to refer to their institutions and themselves in most of their correspondence and in all official documents, including publications. The Spanish version of their names was also the one they used to identify themselves when dealing with colleagues from other countries. They only used the Catalan language and their Catalan names when writing to other Catalan-speakers. This affects names such as Luis Pericot García, whose name in Catalan is written as Lluís Pericot Garcia. Secondly, although all official names in Spain have two surnames, the second is often dropped. There is an exception to this, however. People with very common first surnames have this one dropped if the second surname is not as common. This affects Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla, who was popularly known as Santa-Olalla.

Regarding the letters used as the basis for this article, these are to be found in several archives. First, those to and from Santa-Olalla are kept in the Santa-Olalla Archive in the Museum of the Origins (Museo de los Orígenes) in Madrid, formerly known as the Museo de San Isidro. At the request of the person in charge of the Santa-Olalla Archive, Salvador Quero, the signature to be given to the documents should start with "Museos de Madrid. Orígenes FD", which in this article has been shortened to "MuM-O". The catalogued documents have an inventory number starting with "1974/", whereas those that are not have a signature starting with "ASO" indicating where they are in the archive. Secondly, those to and from Pericot are in the Pericot Archive (Fons Pericot) in the Library of Catalonia (Biblioteca de Catalunya). The documents from the Pericot Archive start with FP (Fons Pericot). If FP is followed by a date, the file name where the letter is included should be obvious because of the text. In case of ambiguity, the file name has been added. Thirdly, although it is known that there is correspondence between Almagro and many other archaeologists in the Archaeological Museum of Barcelona (Nuria Rafel, pers. comm.), a summary search has only revealed a few documents, none

from the 1940s (Ramón Buxó, pers. comm., 7-9-2009). The documents from this archive start with MAB. Fourthly, there are also a few letters by and from Almagro kept in the archive of the Higher Council for Scientific Research (CSIC, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas). The documents from this archive have the signatures “ACCHS AT1125 Extranjero Inglaterra”, shortened to “ACCHS AT1125” and also “ACCHS AT1120 Letra C Clark JGD”, shortened to “ACCHS AT1120”. Sadly, access has not been granted to the most likely institution to have evidence of the epistolary exchange between Clark and Almagro - the Royal Academy of History, where, after his death, Almagro Basch’s wife deposited her husband’s correspondence (Almagro Gorbea, pers. comm. 8-9-2009). Finally, there are a few documents starting with AGA which come from the Archivo General de la Administración in Alcalá de Henares.

Regarding archives in Britain, none have been used for this article. Grahame Clark did not usually keep letters; in fact, he apparently often did not even open them (John Coles, pers. comm. 17-5-2007) (although the content of his letters kept in Madrid and Barcelona seems to indicate that he read what his Spanish colleagues sent him). In any case, we lack most of the letters sent by Santa-Olalla, Pericot and Almagro to Clark that, if still in existence, would be in England.

Clark’s correspondents and the fight for the control of Spanish prehistoric archaeology

Clark had three main correspondents in Spain: Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla, Luis Pericot García and Martín Almagro Basch. The first lived in Madrid and, up until 1954, when Almagro also moved to Madrid, the other two were in Barcelona. In the early years of the regime, Santa-Olalla was the most powerful of the three. Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla (1905–1972) was a *camisa vieja* (“old shirt”), i.e. one of the early members of the Falange (the Spanish version of the Italian Fascist party). He was in charge of the General Commissariat for Archaeological Excavations (CGEA, Comisaría General de Excavaciones Arqueológicas) (he continued in this position until 1957, the last two years as head of the National Service for Archaeological Excavations, SNEA,—more about this below). In this position he managed the state funds allocated for archaeological excavations, which he increasingly channelled to himself and amateur archaeologists instead of to his fellow professional colleagues, many of them related to the CSIC and, therefore, to a certain extent to the Opus Dei faction of the regime (Pasamar Alzuria 1991). Santa-Olalla was also in

charge of teaching Prehistory at the University of Madrid, covering for the exiled professor, Hugo Obermaier. However, when Obermaier died in 1946, he was not allowed to continue teaching (Quero in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009, 424), although he maintained the Seminar of Primitive History, a sort of interest group he had created in the style of the seminars at German universities. The fact that he was not allowed to continue at the university was significant, as it came after the balance between the factions within the Francoist regime had started to change as a result of the increasing likelihood from 1942 that the Axis Powers would lose World War II. In Spain, this meant a decline in the importance of the Falangists and an increase in the power of the Opus Dei faction. Regarding his teaching, after the end of this period in Madrid, Santa-Olalla requested a chair at Zaragoza (1947–1957), later moving to Valencia (1957–1969). However, as he never moved his main residency from Madrid, he cannot have taught much at any of these places (and, significantly, he had no known followers either from Zaragoza or Valencia). He managed to move his chair to Madrid in 1969, but only as a Professor of History of Art. Death caught up with him during a lecture (Castelo et al. 1995; Ortega and Quero Castro 2002).

Although only a few of the letters sent to Martín Almagro Basch (1911–1984) are accessible for this study, it is important to understand his position in Spanish archaeology in general, and in particular as someone who had a detrimental effect on the relationship between Santa-Olalla and Pericot. Despite not being a Catalan and having trained in Valencia and Madrid, at the end of the Civil War Almagro successfully positioned himself as the leading figure in Catalan archaeology for the first decade of the regime. He gained this position by appropriating all the posts of the founder of the Catalan School of Archaeology, Pedro Bosch Gimpera (1891–1974), who had been forced into exile in 1939. The posts left vacant by Bosch Gimpera were those of Professor of Prehistory at the University of Barcelona, director of the Service for Archaeological Investigations (SIA, Servicio de Investigaciones Arqueológicas, formerly known in Catalan as the Servei d'Investigacions Arqueològiques), and director of the Museum of Archaeology in Barcelona. As Bosch's imposed successor, Almagro resumed the excavation of the Greek colony and Roman town of Emporion (Ampurias in Spanish, Empúries in Catalan), in the north of Catalonia. He also started a new journal, *Ampurias*. From 1947, together with Pericot, he organised, among many other activities, the International Summer Courses of Ampurias in association with the Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri (International Institute of Ligurian Studies) led by the former Italian fascist archaeologist, Nino Lamboglia (Díaz-Andreu

2007). His stay in Barcelona ended in 1954, although for some years he continued as head of the Museum and the conflict over his replacement led to a split in the Catalan School of Archaeology into two groups, both claiming Bosch's legacy¹.

Luis Pericot García (1899–1978) was the eldest of the three. He was one of the first members of the Catalan School of Archaeology established by Bosch Gimpera and a professor from 1925. Despite having spent the war in the Republican zone, Pericot managed to retain his position in Barcelona after the Civil War, but not before Almagro's arrival. Students must have seen Almagro as a better option for their interests, for Pericot remained peripheral to the interests of archaeology students who chose instead to be supervised by Almagro². Despite this, Almagro and Pericot became allies to the extent that in early 1946 Pericot became the godfather of Almagro's son, also called Martín³. This new responsibility, for someone as religious as Pericot, must have been very important. Pericot also became a powerful figure in university politics: he was Secretary of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters (1934–52) and was promoted to the post of Vice-Dean (1952–54) and then Dean (1954–57). Between 1969 and 1971 he was Vice-President of the CSIC. Internationally, he was the best-known of the three and regularly attended the International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences (CISPP after its French name); between 1951 and 1954 he was President of the association and until at least 1967 a member of its Executive Council (FP-Osmundsen 11–9–1967), the governing committee of the CISPP. He was also a member of the Permanent Council of the International Congress of Anthropology and Ethnology (CISAE) from 1934. He regularly attended the Pan-African congress and the Congress of Americanists: he organised the meetings of the former in Tenerife in 1963 and of the latter in Seville and Barcelona in 1964.

¹ On the one hand, there was the group that Almagro had organized headed by Ripoll at the Barcelona Museum of Archaeology and then at the Autonomous University of Barcelona; on the other, there was Maluquer and the University of Barcelona. Pericot tried to remain neutral, although perhaps he was more inclined towards the Ripoll group (Gracia 2001, 16–24).

² This includes those who then occupied the chairs of Archaeology, Epigraphy and Numismatics in different parts of Spain: Maluquer (who had started his PhD under Bosch's supervision, chair in Salamanca, 1949); Palol (Valladolid, 1956); Tarradell (Valencia, 1956); and Balil (Valladolid, 1972). Despite the titles of their chairs, many of them focused their research on prehistory and some even later in life changed to newly created chairs under that denomination.

³ Martín Almagro Gorbea, now Professor of Prehistory at the Complutense University of Madrid.

The correspondence between Pericot and Santa-Olalla before the war shows a very friendly relationship between a professor and a young man seeking a chair. Pericot supported Santa-Olalla when he applied for his chair at Santiago de Compostela in 1936 (MuM-O 1974-001-1640, 1974-001-1091 and 1974-001-1089, documents dated between December 1935 and March 1936). During the war, however, they were on opposing sides. Santa-Olalla, who had remained in the Francoist camp, had a brother who was killed, an event that deeply affected him (Ortega and Quero Castro 2002, 197, Quero, pers. comm.). Pericot stayed in Barcelona and thought of going into exile, but was apparently convinced by Bosch to remain in Spain (Pericot 1974, 10). After the war, the correspondence between them continued even post-1941⁴. To start with, it maintained a friendly tone, but

⁴ The following is a summary of the content of the correspondence: In 1946 Santa-Olalla gave the young Irish student, Eoin MacWhite, a letter of introduction to Pericot (FP- 7-2-1946). He did not like the fact that Pericot had not attended a congress in Valencia in November 1946 (FP- 27-11-1946). He tried to encourage a seemingly depressed Pericot in 1948 (FP- 15-3-1948). Santa-Olalla asked Pericot to talk to the members of the panel about a chair in Granada for Julian San Valero (FP- 9-4-1948), which he was awarded, and then for a chair in Valencia (AP- 22-3-1949) that San Valero also obtained. He also asked for other favours regarding Carlos Posac (FP- 26-4-1949; 11-5-1949) and Ramón Fernández Pousa (FP- 18-11-1949). Santa-Olalla also complained about Pericot not following the rules of the CGEA regarding the excavation reports for the province of Gerona (many letters between 1948 and 1953 in both the Pericot and the Santa-Olalla Archives), although he thanked him for sending an article on the activities of the CGEA in the province of Gerona to a homage to Santa-Olalla (Pericot 1948b). He also asked Pericot to contribute an article on the Solutrean to the journal published at the SHP, *Cuadernos de Historia Primitiva* (FP- 17-2-1950), which Pericot never sent. Santa-Olalla congratulated Pericot on his entry into the Academy of Arts (Academia de Buenas Letras) of Barcelona. Santa-Olalla read the entry discourse (Pericot 1948a), and said that he had generally liked it. He asked for two copies for the SHP and the CGEA (FP- 21-12-1948). Other publications were also requested and thanks given when received (FP- 13-6-1949; 17-2-1953). Santa-Olalla organised an Assembly of Commissars of Archaeological Excavations on 12-14 January 1950 (FP- 24-11-1949), the first of a series. In 1951, Pericot could not go because of his daughter's wedding (MuO- 1974-001-8306.1). In relation to this, Santa-Olalla nominated Pericot for the Alfonso X El Sabio medal (14-1-1950), but Pericot then complained about it (17-2-1950). Santa-Olalla also became a member of the Order of Alfonso X (FP- 31-10-1951). Almagro and Pericot asked for funds to excavate Los Millares together with a local amateur, Juan Cuadrado, but when the latter unexpectedly died, Pericot decided not to go ahead (FP- 17-10-1952). Santa-Olalla congratulated Pericot for the arrangements with the land where the archaeological site of Ullastret was located (FP- 22-11-1952) and asked Pericot to invite the Italian archaeologist Pia Laviosa Zambotti to the IV CISPP (FP- 16-10-

it became increasingly bitter and eventually came to an end in 1954. A year earlier, Santa-Olalla had tried to remove Pericot from his post of Provincial Commissar of Archaeological Excavations of the Province of Gerona (AGA: FC, 217, 12/25)⁵. The last two letters, which are kept in the Pericot Archive, are dated to 25 and 26 June 1954. This was just before the *oposición* (public examination to obtain a university chair and any other job as a civil servant) confronting Almagro and Santa-Olalla, when it must have been already clear that Almagro was going to win the competition. The first is a very long letter full of accusations that Santa-Olalla sent to Pericot, which was answered the following day by a hurt Pericot defending his neutrality. He ended his letter asking Santa-Olalla to apologise, but, as this is the last letter kept in the archive, it seems that he never did.

Santa-Olalla and Almagro did not get on well, although the reasons behind the distaste they felt for each other are unknown and may even belong to the period before the Civil War, when both were in Madrid as members of the group formed by Prof. Obermaier. In 1941, Santa-Olalla gave Almagro the post of Provincial Commissar of Barcelona, putting him in charge of all the excavations in the Province of Barcelona (AGA 219 (8)). However, in 1945 Almagro was replaced in this post by the Baron of Esponellá, Epifanio de Fortuny y Salazar (1898–1989) (AGA: FC, 217, 12/25), while Santa-Olalla kept Pericot as the commissar of the province of Gerona. The alliance between Almagro and Pericot does not seem to have suffered. In addition to Pericot in Barcelona, in Madrid Almagro also had another powerful ally, Antonio García y Bellido (1903–1972), a professor of Classical Archaeology at the University of Madrid and someone associated with the CSIC in Madrid who would become the head of the new “Rodrigo Caro” Institute of Prehistory and Archaeology established in 1951.

Almagro’s offensive against Santa-Olalla started in earnest in 1951. In his letters to Pericot, Bosch mentioned the rifts between Almagro and Santa-Olalla on numerous occasions between 1951 and 1955 (Gracia et al. 2002, *passim*). With the collaboration of Prof. García y Bellido, both

1953) (about Zambotti see Ascanfora (1976) and Levi (2001)). The penultimate item of correspondence in the Pericot Archive is a telegram in which Santa-Olalla sent his congratulations to Pericot’s daughter on the occasion of her first-born (FP– 9–11–1953).

⁵ In December 1953 Santa-Olalla tried to replace Pericot as Provincial Commissar of Gerona with Miguel Oliva Prat. However, Oliva had been recommended by Pericot (MuO– 1974–001–8307, dated on 22–10–1951), and this whole affair therefore seems somewhat bizarre.

managed to stop Santa-Olalla from heading an institute at the CSIC (FP-14-6-1951, Olmos et al. 1993: 50). Pericot declared to Santa-Olalla that he had had nothing to do with it⁶. In 1952 it was Almagro, and not Santa-Olalla, who was chosen to be a member of the Permanent Council of the CISPP (Díaz-Andreu 2009) and, again, Pericot insisted that he had remained neutral⁷. Pericot took advantage of a meeting with both the Minister of Education and the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madrid to convince them of the need for a professor of Prehistory at the University of Madrid (MuO-1974-001-8303, 10-3-1952). However, when the public examination (*oposición*) took place in October 1954, with Pericot heading the panel, it was Almagro and not Santa-Olalla who obtained the chair. As both competitors were of a similar age, this removed any chance of Santa-Olalla returning to lecture in prehistory at the University of Madrid⁸.

Finally, the coup de grâce came after a letter signed by seven professors was sent to the Minister of National Education, Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez, on 31 January 1955. Those who signed did it following an order as based on their relative seniority as university professors. They were Luis Pericot García (Barcelona), Antonio García Bellido (Madrid), Alberto del Castillo (Barcelona), Antonio Beltrán (Zaragoza), Cayetano de Mergelina (Murcia), Juan Maluquer de Motes (Salamanca) and Prof. Martín Almagro (Madrid). The letter highlighted the main problems of archaeology in Spain—essentially the existence of the CGEA (Santa-Olalla's name was not mentioned). The letter argued the need for urgent reform. They conceded that the creation of the CGEA had been appropriate to regulate amateur endeavours, but indicated that problems had emerged at the outset. In their opinion, the CGEA was no longer efficient within a context of post-war national normality. Both the development of several research institutes under the umbrella of the Higher Council for Scientific Research (CSIC) and the creation of more chairs in universities, along with an increase in student numbers, had made the CGEA obsolete. The situation had become unsustainable and they dared to suggest the creation of a new council in which all members of the

⁶ Pericot declared his innocence in the CSIC affair (MuO- 1974-001-8310, 17-6-1951). Other documentation in MuO- 1974-001-8292 (5-7-1952); 1974-001-8290.2 (8-7-1952); 1974-001-8289 (12-7-1952).

⁷ The documentation about the selection of a new member for the Permanent Council in 1952 can be found in MuO- 1974-001-8296 (10-4-1952, claiming his neutrality) and 1974-001-8299 (14-4-1952).

⁸ There is some correspondence about the Chair of Prehistory at University of Madrid in MuO- 1974-001-8295 (8-9-1953) and 1974-001-8298 (21-9-1953).

professional archaeological community would participate. The new council would give permission to excavate and deal with other matters regarding archaeology. It would be funded with the money now given to the CGEA (AGA, 348, 12/25). The letter had an immediate effect. On 2 December 1955, the CGEA was abolished and in its place a National Service for Archaeological Excavations (SNEA, Servicio Nacional de Excavaciones Arqueológicas) was set up. This was headed by a General Inspector and a series of Professors of Archaeology acting as delegates. In practice, this meant that many of those recruited by Santa-Olalla were unable to continue in their posts. Although Santa-Olalla was given the post of General Inspector, he resigned in 1957 (Díaz-Andreu and Ramírez Sánchez 2004, 122–123). In sum, by 1957 Santa-Olalla had lost his teaching position in Madrid, his control of the funding of Spanish archaeology through the CGEA/SNEA, he had failed to obtain a post in the CSIC and, internationally, to be integrated into the managing structure of the CISPP. In contrast, Almagro, partly with the help of Pericot, had obtained this and more and had become indisputably the main figure in Spanish archaeology.

The correspondence

On 28 December 1945, not quite three months after the end of World War II, Clark wrote to Martínez Santa-Olalla to thank him for the offprints received. He apologised for not being able to send a copy of his book *The Mesolithic Settlement of Northern Europe* (Clark 1936), as

“[...] although there are copies printed, it has not been possible to have any copies bound since 1942, owing to the shortage of labour. The publishers hope that as they get men back from the forces they will be able to get copies bound. I will then try & send you a copy without too much delay. Meanwhile I am very pleased to see that there has been sufficient interest in Spain to make a resume.” (MuM–O 1974/001/9925.1)

Clark expressed an interest in exchanging publications, including the whole series of the *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*. This they must have agreed, for the Complutense University of Madrid has the complete series, with the exception of some issues between 1952 and 1954. Santa-Olalla then paid the membership fees of the Prehistoric Society and on 7 January 1946 Clark answered: “I am glad that you wish to become a full member of the Society & not merely to exchange. We shall I am sure be honoured to have your name on our list of members” (MuM–O 1974/001/–9923). On the back of the letter, written in pencil, and probably

at Santa-Olalla's request, Clark had listed the main archaeology journals published in Ireland. Clark (MuM-O 1974/001/-9923) also said that:

"I am now busy preparing my courses of lectures interrupted for so long by the war & I find it a difficult matter. Communications with colleagues in Europe are still either impossible or difficult. It is good to be able to reach you in Spain so comparatively easily"

Santa-Olalla answered both letters on 18 January (he wrote the date of 1945, but this is obviously a mistake), giving Clark the choice of exchanging the PPS with either the proceedings of the Spanish Society of Anthropology (*Actas y Memorias de la Sociedad Española de Antropología, Etnografía y Prehistoria* (AMSEAE)) or the reports of the General Commissariat (*Informes de la CGEA*) and the similar series that had been published up to the beginning of the war, the *Memorias de la Junta Superior de Excavaciones y Antigüedades* (MuM-O 1974/001/9928). After this he changed his mind and the following day, in another letter, he proposed a dual exchange, one with the Spanish Society of Anthropology (AMSEAE) and another with the university (with *Cuadernos de Historia Primitiva*) (MuM-O 1974/001/9927). Clark agreed to the latter (MuM-O 1974/001/9929.1, 11-2-1946). After this there is a gap in the correspondence between February 1946 and February 1952.

Although we do not know whether there is a connection, this gap in the letters between Clark and Santa-Olalla began approximately at the time Pericot went to Britain in April 1946. This was not his first trip. He had already been there during the Christmas periods of 1926-27 and 1931-32, when he had made the acquaintance of Tom Kendrick (British Museum), Gordon Childe (Edinburgh), E.T. Leeds (Oxford) and Miles Burkitt (Cambridge). In this trip in 1946 Pericot strengthened established links and also made new ones, mainly with members of the University of Cambridge. Among his new contacts were Grahame Clark, Glyn Daniel and Prof. Dorothy Garrod. Childe had arranged for Pericot to give lectures on his newly-published book about the excavation of the Upper Palaeolithic Cave of Parpalló (Pericot 1942) at the Society of Antiquaries in London and the universities of Edinburgh and Cambridge (Díaz-Andreu forthcoming). During his stay in Cambridge in 1946, Pericot may have been put up by the Clarks, as Garrod and the Burkitts had apologised for not being able to do this. Either there were no hotels or war-time economy made people feel obliged to invite a person to stay, as Pericot had never been invited to stay in anybody's house on his two previous trips. It could also be that, although he was a professor from 1925, on his two previous trips the British had considered him to be too young and

either felt that they did not know him enough or, more importantly, that he had not produced anything of importance (at least anything they had heard of). In 1945, however, he had just published the results of the excavations of the Cave of Parpalló in three volumes that he had sent to many key figures and institutions in British archaeology (Pericot 1942). Parpalló demonstrated that the sequence of cultures found in the classical Franco-Cantabrian area was also present in Eastern Spain, including the Solutrean period. In 1946 Pericot most likely stayed with the Clarks, for Clark mentioned more than a year later that “surely the children remember you with affection & still speak of your paper models” (FP-26-5-1947). Pericot invited him to lecture at the first International Summer Course of Ampurias in 1947, but he could not attend as he had been given a grant to travel to Scandinavia (FP-26-5-1947) (Fagan 2001, 128–129). Instead the invitation fell to the Oxford Professor, Christopher Hawkes (Díaz-Andreu 2007).

During Pericot’s next trip to England in October 1951, Clark went to London to listen to Pericot’s lecture at the Prehistoric Society’s meeting (FP-25-9-1951, 23-10-1951) and guided him through the exhibition of Star Carr material at the British Museum of Natural History, South Kensington. He also showed him other material from that year’s excavation that was not on display “but which we can show you” (FP-25-9-1951). In Cambridge he invited him twice to dinner—the first time at home and then at Peterhouse (FP-25-9-1951). At the time they must have spoken about Michael W. Thompson, one of Clark’s students who was about to embark on a PhD research on the Mesolithic Cultures of the Iberian Peninsula. Thompson’s initial interest had been in the rock paintings in Eastern Spain, which he visited in 1950. After this it seems that Clark encouraged him to undertake research. During his PhD, he went to Spain in 1951 and 1952, where he spent some time in Barcelona, under the official supervision of Pericot from October 1951 to March 1952 (FP-Clark 30-8-1951). Thompson finished his PhD the following year (Thompson 1953).

Before his stay in Cambridge in 1951, Pericot had already invited Clark for a second time to lecture in Spain, this time with success. An initial date of November/December that year had to be postponed for medical reasons (FP- 2-7-1951; 23-10-1951; 15-11-1951; 31-12-1951; 16-2-1952). He proposed to talk on his latest book *Prehistoric Europe: the Economic Basis* “in particular on the relations between economy & ecology. I could easily use material from Seamer [i.e. Star Carr] where I am now excavating to illustrate this” (FP- 2-7-1951). Clark finally paid a ten-day visit to Spain in the company of his wife Mollie. The trip began in

Madrid on 19 March 1952 and was financed with funds from the British Academy, an advantage –he explained– of having been elected a Fellow earlier that year (FP- 23-10-1951; MuM-O ASO-48-192.1, 12-2-1952). Martínez Santa-Olalla must have heard about the invitation and contacted Clark (MuM-O ASO-48-193, no date), to which his English colleague replied:

“My primary object is to have a general view of Iberian prehistory, taking special interest in Mesolithic finds but also concerning myself with later prehistoric material. Naturally in such a short visit I shall have to take into account primarily the museum material. I do not know how much there is on view in Madrid yet? [...]. One of my objects in coming to Spain is to gain an impression of your rich material at first-hand so that I can read the articles & books with more understanding. I am writing a general book on the main lines of European prehistory & hope I shall learn something of the rich Iberian archaeology in the course of collecting the materials for this. My travels in the past have always been in German or Scandinavian lands & it will be a great help to spend even a few days in Spain” (MuM-O ASO-48-192.1/2, 12-2-1952).

Santa-Olalla declared that there were many collections to be seen at the Seminar of Primitive History. Unfortunately, the collections at the National Archaeological Museum were not accessible. However, although it was true that, as a result of the Civil War, the museum remained closed to the public from 1936 until 1954 (Marcos Pous 1993, 85–92), it seems unlikely that researchers were completely denied access to the collections. In fact, one can guess that Santa-Olalla did not get on well with the temporary director, Joaquín M. de Navascués. Also, Santa-Olalla advised Clark not to take Pericot’s advice, as he told him that it was not worth seeing the Parpalló collections *in situ* in Valencia, as everything had been published. In Barcelona he suggested a visit to the Salvador Vilaseca⁹ collection in the town of Reus (MuM-O ASO-48-191, 16-2-1952).

Clark arrived in Madrid by train from Paris on the evening of Tuesday 18 March 1952 (MuM-O ASO-48-189.1, 4-3-1952). There he met Prof. Santa-Olalla and saw as many of “the collections” as possible (FP-16-2-1952). He gave a lecture on “Les fouilles de Star Carr, gisement

⁹ Salvador Vilaseca y Anguera (1896–1975), director of a psychiatric institute and amateur archaeologist. He became interested in prehistory in 1919. His personal collection was the basis for the establishment of the Municipal Museum of Reus opened in 1934. He was the Provincial Commissar of the Province of Tarragona (1941–1970) (Gracia in Díaz-Andreu et al. 2009: 695).

mésolitique d'Angleterre du nord-est: 1949-1951" with 71 lantern slides (MuM-O ASO-48-189.1, 4-3-1952). About it he had explained that:

"As regards giving my lecture. I have a very large collection of slides illustrating the excavations at Star Carr which have now been completed. If it interests you I could bring a series showing the finds from the 1951 season & also the general results. I must say that although I can read in Spanish a little, I cannot speak the language at all. I think I could speak enough French to show the slides, though hardly enough to maintain a discussion. It would be useful if someone in the seminar could act as interpreter." (MuM-O ASO-48-192.1/2, 12-2-1952)

In Madrid he was shown the university facilities. Instead of seeing archaeological collections, Santa-Olalla arranged for him to visit El Prado Museum, as well as organising a trip to the town of Toledo (MuM-O ASO-48-188.1/2, 22-3-1952). Clark promised to send Santa-Olalla his *Prehistoric Europe* and hoped that it would arrive soon (ibidem). If it did arrive, it was never deposited in the library, as the earliest of his books at the Complutense University of Madrid are *Archaeology and Society* (Clark 1942) and *From Savagery to Civilization* (Clark 1953) that he may have sent a year after his visit.

From 22 to 29 March 1952, the Clarks stayed in Valencia and Barcelona. Clark had left it to Pericot to organise his time there: "I shall have to spend my time mainly on the collections, unless it might be possible to see something of the country at the weekend" (FP-23-10-1951). As was usually the case with visitors to Valencia, it is most likely that Pericot took Clark to see Parpalló and perhaps other sites, but the letters do not provide any details about this (with the exception of the comment by Santa-Olalla above). In Barcelona, the Clarks were invited to have dinner at the Pericots' (FP-26-3-1952). Pericot gave his British colleague a number of publications that he sent by ordinary mail in order to avoid the Clarks having to carry them all the way back (FP-6-4-1952). Clark also gave Pericot his book *Prehistoric Europe: the economic basis* (1952), and apologised to him for having cited him as García and not Pericot in the bibliography at the end of the book (Clark 1952). Clark later explained in a letter to Almagro that he was sorry he had been absent from Barcelona at the time of his visit (MAB-29-3-1952). The return journey took the Clarks to Paris where, as planned (FP-16-2-1952), they stopped

to visit the Institute of Human Palaeontology, which most likely meant a visit to the Abbé Henri Breuil¹⁰.

A year after Clark's visit to Spain, Martínez Santa-Olalla invited him to participate in the First International Course of Field Archaeology (Primer Curso Internacional de Arqueología de Campo) (MuM-O ASO-48-188.2, 7-5-1953); Clark thanked him but apologised saying that he would be in the field himself at that time (MuM-O 1974-001-11974, 1-6-1953). Santa-Olalla obviously did not understand the reply, as he was delighted by Clark's acceptance (MuM-O 1974-001-11975, 17-6-1953). No more correspondence was exchanged on this matter. Finally, the last two letters in the Santa-Olalla archive are dated in January 1954, when they organised a new exchange of publications between the Prehistoric Society and the CGEA (MuM-O 1974-001-10350 and 1974-001-10349).

Clark returned to Madrid between 21 and 27 April 1954 to participate at the IV International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences. There are no letters about this, but he presented a paper on *The Working of Deer and Reindeer Antlers in Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic Times*, which he did not send to be published in the proceedings (Beltrán 1956).

In 1955, Childe suggested that Pericot could give at least three lectures in London, Oxford and Cambridge, with Clark organising the last of the three (FP-Childe 3-3-1955), but as Pericot's visit took place in July, this did not happen and he does not appear to have been in Cambridge on this occasion. In any case, it is from 1955 that the Clarks seem to have been permanently included in the list of archaeologists and favoured contacts in Britain to whom Pericot sent *turrón*, a Spanish Christmas treat. They had first received it after the Clarks' visit to Spain in 1952 (FP-19-12-1952), but nothing indicates that they received it the two following years¹¹. In return the Clarks sent tea at least three times (FP-19-12-1952, 18-1-1959, Mollie Clark 9-12-1968) and cigarettes once (FP-19-12-1952), although the latter never arrived (FP-Thompson ?-?-1953). In 1955 Clark had to urge Pericot to send his contribution for the homage to Childe

¹⁰ Abbé Henri Breuil (1877-1961), a French archaeologist and key figure of twentieth-century Palaeolithic archaeology. He worked at the Institute of Human Palaeontology from 1910. He was also Professor at the Collège de France from 1929 and a member of the Institut de France from 1938. For more on Breuil and British archaeology see O'Connor (2007, ch. 9).

¹¹ The acknowledgements came usually in early January and were written by Mollie Clark, although no letters exist for 1956, 1964, 1966, 1967, 1969 and 1971-4. The last year the *turrón* was acknowledged by the Clark family was 1975, the year he retired.

(FP-14-11-1955; 21-11-1955), which was finally published (Pericot 1955).

Without accessing the full correspondence between Clark and Almagro, it is difficult to ascertain whether it was around 1952 that Clark changed his perception of his main contact in Spain from Pericot to Almagro, although this may have started to happen in April 1952. The death of the president of the CISPP, Blas Taracena, in 1951 led to Pericot's promotion and this left a vacancy on the Permanent Council. Both Almagro and Santa-Olalla fought for it, but the former was chosen. The election had been controversial and Santa-Olalla had complained bitterly to his European friends about the campaign against him (MuM-O ASO/28-78, 30-4-1952). A lot must have been heard about the internal politics of Spanish archaeology. In any case, it must have become clear that Almagro was the rising star; this was confirmed two years later when he obtained the chair of Prehistory at the University of Madrid. Clark had become a professor at Cambridge only two years earlier (1952). They may have felt something in common as the heads of what they perceived to be the most important departments in their countries.

On 8 October 1959, the Harvard Professor Hallam Movius thanked Pericot for his letter of June sent while at the "Symposium on the Social Life of Early Man", sponsored by the Wenner-Gren Foundation at Castle Wartenstein in Austria in June 1959. He added that "both Professor Vallois and Grahame Clark have given me very glowing accounts of the symposium", but as no article by Clark was included in the volume we can only assume that Clark's information about the conference was indirect, most likely communicated by Pericot during Clark's holiday in Spain. The Clarks had been back in Spain in August 1959 for a holiday with their three children. They had asked Pericot for advice on where to go on the northern part of the Costa Brava (FP-18-1-1959; 27-2-1959; 3-3-1959; 18-4-1959) and for the first fortnight in August Pericot reserved rooms for them in a hotel in Calella, a village near Bagur, where Pericot had a summer house on the coast. During their stay they were invited by Pericot to his home and he also gave them a guided tour of the attractive town of Gerona (FP-Mollie Clark 21-8-1959).

After 1959, however, we have some actual evidence that Clark had grown closer to Almagro than to Pericot. He was invited by Almagro to give some lectures in Madrid and it seems Pericot only found out about this when Mollie Clark mentioned it in passing (FP-29-12-1962). Having enquired about this at the British Institute in Barcelona, its director informed Pericot that Clark's visit to Madrid was sponsored by an FUIS travel grant (awarded by the British Council and Spanish General Office

for Cultural Relations) and that they planned to travel south to Andalusia. A visit to Barcelona, therefore, seemed unlikely (FP-British Institute, Barcelona 27-3-1963). During their stay in Madrid, Clark wrote to Pericot (FP-30-3-1963):

"We have been thinking of you since coming here to lecture Almagro's class. Now we are packing to visit the parts of Spain between Murcia and Algeciras before flying home from Gibraltar. We have such warm memories of Valencia, Barcelona and Calella that it seems wrong not to come this time. But Spain is a very large country & we have very few days before the Easter holidays [...] We look forward to seeing some of the rock-paintings in the east & south, as well as Los Millares & Antequera [...] My wife is posting separately some smoked salmon as a small gift to Madame Pericot!"

The correspondence found in the archive of the CSIC between Clark and Almagro is most likely just a sample of a much wider collection that must be in the Royal Academy of History. It is related to Clark's trip to Spain in 1963. In fact, it starts with a letter in which Clark explains to Almagro that he has made an application to pay for him to travel to England (ACCHS AT1125, 11-2-1961). He says he had been reading Almagro's section on Levantine art in Spain, most likely referring to Almagro's new handbook on prehistory (Almagro Basch 1960). In his reply, Almagro invited Clark's daughter, Margaret, to spend some time with his family, and particularly with his own daughter, in Spain (ACCHS AT1125, 20-2-1961). Almagro thanked Clark for having sent his book, probably referring to Clark's *World Prehistory* (Clark 1961) (ACCHS AT1125, 20-4-1961). Almagro's daughter spent some time in the summer with the Clarks and he himself planned to go to Cambridge in the autumn (ACCHS AT1125, 21-8-1961), although he had to be reminded about sending the exact dates (ACCHS AT1125, 14-10-1961). Almagro replied that he was planning to go to England during the second fortnight in November (ACCHS AT1125, 17-10-1961). This was going to be his first trip to England, as he explained to Hawkes (ACCHS AT1125, no date but after the last one). Clark proposed that Almagro give three lectures (ACCHS AT1125, 23-10-1961) and asked that one of them be on Levantine art. He also organised another lecture at the Institute of Archaeology in London (ACCHS AT1125, 28-10-1961). Almagro was invited to dine at Peterhouse and Clark even suggested that he could drive him to Oxford if needed (ACCHS AT1125, 6-11-1961). After his trip, Almagro sent an enthusiastic letter thanking Clark for his hospitality (ACCHS AT1125, 19-12-1961).

Clark's daughter arrived in Madrid in April 1962, where she was put up by the Almagros (ACCHS AT1120, 9-4-1962). Almagro also organised grants to invite, in the following order, Clark, John Evans and Prof. Hood (British School at Athens) to Madrid (ACCHS AT1120, 26-5-1962). Clark accepted the invitation and also showed a willingness to have Almagro's daughter stay with them in the summer (ACCHS AT1120, 27-6-1962). Clark proposed March and April for the visit with his wife (ACCHS AT1120, 21-12-1962). After the visit, Mollie Clark thanked Almagro's wife for their kindness and explained that the tour of Granada had been very enjoyable (ACCHS AT1120, 6-4-1963). Grahame Clark also wrote, but stressed the visit to the rock art sites of Alpera and Minateda, the sites of Almizaraque and Los Millares, La Alhambra, the Antequera tombs and the cave of Nerja. He emphasised that it had been a pleasure to talk to Almagro's students (ACCHS AT1120, 7-4-1963) on the subject of "the arch and the arrow" (ACCHS AT1120, no date).

Clark, Pericot and Almagro would meet again the following year at the Permanent Council of the UISPP in Zaragoza, Spain, between 11 and 14 September 1964 (Beltrán 1964), although the only published photograph shows Clark next to Almagro¹² (Cruz Berrocal et al. 2005, plate 1). The 1964 trip would be the Clarks' last to Spain. At the end of that year Mollie Clark announced to Pericot that they were going to New Zealand and Australia for six months (FP-27-12-1963). This trip had a considerable impact on Clark's career, leading him to focus on other continents beyond Europe (Mulvaney 1999). In 1966, in a joint letter, the Clarks explained to Pericot their six-week trip around the world lecturing at various universities across America and their return to New Zealand for their eldest child's wedding (FP-Clark and Clark 9-1-1966). However, Clark's absence from Spain does not mean that he and Pericot did not meet, as they were both frequent travellers and keen contributors to international events. The next time Clark and Pericot met was in Japan at the 8th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences held in Tokyo and Kyoto in 1968. Pericot and Clark would see each other again in Cambridge, where Pericot gave a lecture in April 1969 and had dinner with the Clarks afterwards (FP-Daniel 21-4-1969). He also spent some

¹² The photograph published by Cruz Berrocal et al. (2005, plate 1) indicates that this meeting was of the executive committee of the UISPP on 11 September 1960. However, this does not seem possible. No such meeting is mentioned in the exhaustive information provided by de Laet (1970), while he states that there was one in July 1960 in Prague and another in Dublin in July 1961. De Laet also mentions that Pericot was re-elected to represent Spain on the Executive Committee from 1958 to 1962 (*ibidem*: 1433).

days in Cambridge in November 1970 where he gave another lecture and dined with Clark (FP–Daniel 21–10–1970, 26–10–1970, 1–11–1970).

Economic and social prehistory in Spain

Was Clark's work influential in Spain? From the above correspondence it is clear that he had a cordial relationship with at least Pericot and Almagro and that they knew about his research, not only because they had heard the talks given by Clark at conferences in Madrid, Barcelona and elsewhere in the world, but also because his publications were reviewed in Spain (see below). However, despite this, it is difficult to see whether the British academic had any actual influence on them. Almagro does not seem to have published anything dealing with economic or social archaeology. This is not Pericot's case, however, as he played a role in a timid appearance of these subjects in prehistoric archaeology in Spain from the 1950s. In spite of this, this section will attempt to explain why it is unlikely that Clark was an actual influence on the works dealing with economic and social archaeology published in Spain.

Grahame Clark has gone down in history as one of the initiators and promoters of economic prehistory (1939; 1946), although he did not explicitly talk about an economic approach until the early 1950s (1953; 1954). He understood society as an integrated system of subsistence, settlement, technology and trade. Where did Clark's interest in economy and society come from? In 1937 he had written:

"It is only in proportion as prehistory has become scientific in its outlook and to some extent professional in its personnel that it has tended to concentrate on the *economic* and *social* realities of existence. As a consequence the study of prehistoric houses is most developed in countries where the modern outlook first prevailed, and most backward in countries like our own where the change is yet in process of accomplishment. Germany with her highly organised and professionalised body of workers has carried the study of prehistoric houses to the advanced stage." (Clark 1937: 468, emphasis added)

Pericot knew of Clark's work. In 1944 he published a note on new ideas on the Northern European Mesolithic (Pericot 1944a). In it he pointed out that the chronological scheme that Clark had proposed in *The Mesolithic Settlement of Northern Europe* (Clark 1936), a book about which San Valero (1941) had written a note, had now been revised by Childe (1943). Four years later Pericot wrote a review of Clark's *From Savagery to Civilization* in which he praised the large number of published

handbooks in Britain (Pericot 1947, 48). He remarked that the production of books was now excellent, contrasting with the poor quality of the books issued during the war (he had commented on this in a review of Childe's *What Happened in History* (Pericot 1944e)). In his review of *From Savagery...*, Pericot summarised the content of the book and showed his satisfaction at the coincidence between Clark's scheme in figure 1 and what he taught in his own lectures. He added that they also agreed on the use of human generations in order to make the time span more understandable to the reader, although Pericot used a shorter chronology than Clark. He concluded by stating that he would like to see a handbook such as that of Clark translated into Spanish (Pericot 1947, 48). Two decades later, Pericot reviewed the second edition of *World Prehistory*, which he defined as excellent and with a mainly economic perspective. He only criticised the almost total absence of data from the Iberian Peninsula (Pericot 1968a). Regarding translations, Pericot's plea in 1948 was not acted upon. Although *From Savagery to Civilization* was translated into French two decades after its publication, in 1967 (Clark 1967), it has never been translated into Spanish. However, other volumes were translated: *Archaeology and society: reconstructing the prehistoric past* (1980), *World prehistory in new perspective* (1981) and *The identity of man: as seen by an archaeologist* (1985). A comparison with the translations of Childe's books, however, makes it clear that those of Clark came later; the Edinburgh/London professor was first translated into Spanish in 1954 and ten of his works had Spanish editions published in Mexico, Argentina and Spain, whereas only three of Clark's books were ever translated into Spanish, all by Spanish publishers (see table 2).

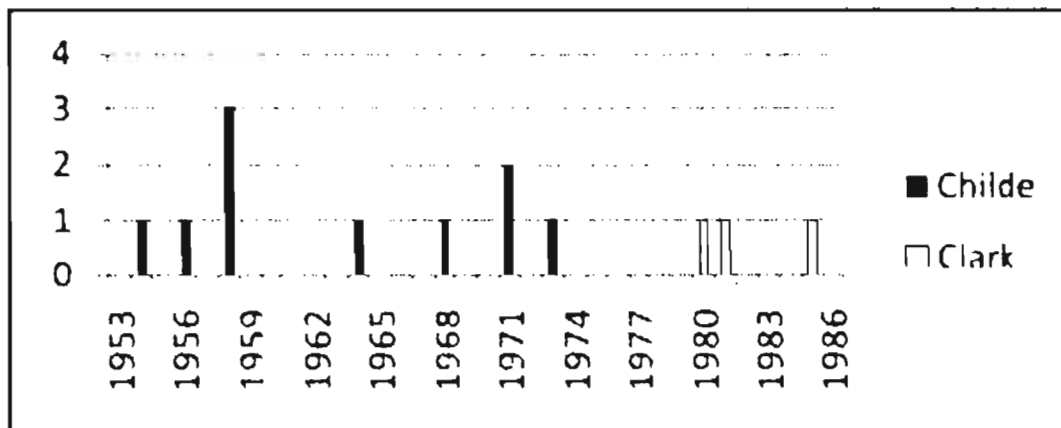


Table 2. A comparison between the translations into Spanish of Childe's (in black) and Clark's (in white) books. Re-editions are not included.

In 1948, at the start of an important public lecture – that he read for his official entry in the Royal Academy of Letters of Barcelona (Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona) – Pericot mentioned that prehistory was a type of history and explained that he understood history as all-encompassing and sensitive to all aspects, first of all to the social and economic aspects and only then to the political and military events so important to traditional history (Pericot 1948a: 17). In a section entitled “The social aspect and the future of archaeology”, Pericot stated that prehistorians were increasingly aware that they had to avoid their science becoming what the Russians called *veschedvedenniya*, i.e. the science of relics or “relicology” (reliquiología (sic!)) (ibidem: 30). He said that “in recent years, English scholars, who now lead world research, have underlined the value of prehistory and archaeology in general [he probably meant classical archaeology] as social sciences. They have also indicated their educational value and have even proposed that their methods be used at the very least for studying the Middle Ages” (ibidem: 31–32).

Who were these English authors Pericot was referring to? The only British researcher explicitly mentioned in the public lecture was the German-born London professor, Frederick Everard Zeuner (Pericot 1948a, 29), although we can sense that in several comments, Pericot had Childe in mind (such as the comment about *veschedvedenniya*). Pericot had reviewed Childe’s books and knew them well (1941; 1944b–e; 1945a–b; 1945–46a–e; 1949). As explained above, although not as extensively, he had also reviewed Clark’s work (1944a; 1947, 48). However, it is not obvious that he had Clark in mind when he prepared this lecture. In fact, we can trace influences in the other direction: Hawkes read the publication and admired it and talked about it when he sent Pericot a copy of his “ladder of inference” article (FP–30–6–1954, Hawkes 1954). However, in 1948 Hawkes had not published anything that could have inspired Pericot’s lecture.

Despite Pericot only referring to English authors in his lecture, he had another influence closer to home that can be read between lines when he explains what he understands by history (see above). This came from the French Annales school through the work of his younger colleague, Jaime Vicens Vives (1910–1960). Although Pericot, during the lean years before obtaining his chair, had translated *La Terre et l’évolution humaine. Introduction géographique à l’histoire* (Pericot 1923) by Lucien Febvre (1878–1956), the French historian and co-founder of the Annales School, this does not seem to have had an impact either on him or Vicens Vives, who had read it just after his graduation, despite the latter assuring, years later, that he had been impressed by it (Muñoz i Lloret 1997, 191). Vicens

had been reading French authors from the time he had been writing his doctoral thesis (*ibidem*: XXV), but it was at the end of 1949 that he discovered Fernand Braudel (1949). At the IX Congress of Historical Sciences in Paris in 1950, Vicens met Braudel and many others who, Marxists or not, were writing economic and social history (Muñoz i Lloret 1997, 190; Freedman and Muñoz i Lloret 2003, XXVII). Vicens' Centre for International Historical Studies in Barcelona became the interlocutor for many foreign historians, many interested in social and economic history, including John Elliott, Pierre Vilar, Gabriel Jackson and Stanley Payne (Freedman and Muñoz i Lloret 2003, XXVII).

There is plenty of evidence of connections between Vicens and Pericot. Vicens Vives was born, like Pericot, in Gerona. He also participated in the Mediterranean study cruise organized in 1933 by the staff and students of the faculties of Philosophy, Arts and Architecture, on which Pericot had gone as a professor (Gracia and Fullola Pericot 2006)¹³. As in the case of many others students, this had a great impact on Vicens' future development (Muñoz i Lloret 1997, 46–47; Freedman and Muñoz i Lloret 2003, XIII). After the cruise, he left his teaching at a Higher School (*Instituto*) and moved on to lecture at the university, beginning a close relationship with Bosch Gimpera (*ibidem*) and probably also with Pericot. They were two of the five panel members of his public thesis examination (*viva*), at which Vicens presented his doctoral thesis on medieval history (*ibidem*: XIII). He seems to have gone through a transformation similar to that of many others at the time—from a Catalanist and Republican to Francoist (although he would come back to politics and Catalanism in the 1950s). In 1940, one year after the end of the Civil War, he published his book "Spain. Geopolitics of the State and the Empire" (1940a) and adapted to the new political situation the perspective and conclusions of his thesis in another one (1940b). Despite this, he was not allowed to compete for a chair in Barcelona (Cassasas i Ymbert et al. 2008, 118–119) and was affected by the *depuración* (purge) in that he was prohibited from lecturing at the university for two years. During this time he wrote books for the publishers Instituto Gallach (for which Bosch and, to some extent Pericot, had also written extensively and organised multi-volume collections on general history), prepared school textbooks and set up a publishing house, Teide, which would become very strong in the latter area. In 1947, he finally obtained a chair at the University of Zaragoza with a panel on which Pericot was a member and two years later moved to

¹³ For more on the influence of the Mediterranean study cruise on female students, who subsequently became professionals see Díaz-Andreu (1998, 134).

Barcelona¹⁴ (Muñoz i Lloret 1997, 155–158; Freedman and Muñoz i Lloret 2003, XVI, XIX). He then set to renew historical studies, encountering a great deal of opposition from colleagues all over Spain, but also attracting staunch supporters (ibidem: XVIII). He impressed on them the importance of studying original sources in archives and of undertaking comprehensive, well-rounded studies. He also transferred his interest from medieval to modern history and drew closer to the historians of the “generation of 1948”, young historians who had studied after the war, were members of Opus Dei and published in *Arbor* (to which Pericot also sent a couple of articles). In 1956 he became a member of the Academy of Arts in Barcelona (Freedman and Muñoz i Lloret 2003, XXX) and his entrance discourse was “answered” by Pericot (1956). Pericot also helped Vicens in everything related to the CSIC, including obtaining posts for Vicens’ followers (Muñoz i Lloret 1997, 221, 228, 229). From all this it is clear that Pericot and Vicens were very close, that Pericot had always supported Vicens in his early years and that later on they had become professional allies.

It was because of Vicens Vives, and not Clark, that Pericot dealt with the social and economic aspects of prehistory. In 1957, in a multi-volume collection edited by Vicens Vives entitled *Social and Economic History of Spain and America*, Pericot published a long essay entitled *Social History of Ancient Spain*. In it he dealt with three main periods: prehistory, protohistory and Roman Hispania. For each of them he followed a pre-established scheme: after a general introduction, there was a section with information about the economy and production. This was followed by another on spiritual values and art, followed by yet another on customs, with information about food and drink, dress, house types, hygiene, illnesses and burial traditions. In the chapter on the Roman period he included information about the mentality of the aristocracy, the middle classes (sic), the plebs, for which he had a subsection on the rise of the proletarian class (sic) (Pericot 1957, 95) and the slaves. It is not difficult to guess that a comparison with Clark’s perspective on economic and social archaeology would highlight obvious differences. Pericot was definitely not following Clark.

¹⁴ Olivar-Bertrand also competed for the Barcelona chair obtained by Vicens Vives, for which Pericot was a panel member (Olivar-Bertrand 1978, 77). This may well explain Olivar’s low opinion of Pericot, who was scornfully referred to in Olivar’s letters to Bosch as the “parsley of all sauces” (Olivar-Bertrand 1978, 24, 181, 240) (a translation of “perejil de todas las salsas”, i.e. someone who likes to be everywhere but whose science lacks depth).

Perhaps it is worth mentioning that there was another archaeologist also very close to Vicens Vives: Miguel Tarradell (1920–1995). From 1953, Tarradell began to collaborate with Vicens Vives on the *Índice Histórico Español*, a journal set up by Vicens to publish short critical reviews of everything recently published on the history in Spain, together with a rating of its quality. Tarradell went through a transformation during his time as a professor in Valencia (1956–70) and, like Vicens, became a Catalanist. He also cooperated with Vicens on a book entitled *Crucial moments in the history of Catalonia* (Abadal et al. 1962). In 1968, Tarradell organised the first conference on the History of Ancient Economy in the Iberian Peninsula (Tarradell 1968a; 1968b). Pericot contributed with a paper on “*The economic life in Spain during the Upper Palaeolithic*” (1968b), along the same lines as his work of 1957. Other contributors included the Catalan archaeologists Arribas, Maluquer, Trías and Balil, as well as some from other parts of Spain, including Cuadrado, Pla Ballester, Blázquez, Beltrán and the anthropologist Caro Baroja.

The economic and social aspect never became a central part of the writings of either Pericot or Tarradell. However, there were a few authors who followed them, although again, none of them established a solid line of research (Aparicio Pérez 1973; 1976; 1978; Jordá Cerdá 1974; Rubio de Miguel 1986). One could see obvious differences between their work and that of students from Cambridge and Harvard who were looking at the social and economic aspects of Iberian prehistory at this time (Chapman 1975; Gilman 1976; Harrison and Gilman 1977; Davidson 1981; Lewthwaite 1985). Out of them, only one archaeologist trained in Britain – but not in Cambridge –, Michael Walker, referred to Vicens and Pericot in an article on dolmens and drovers in prehistoric Spain (Walker 1983: 38–40). In turn, Aparicio Pérez was aware of Clark’s work. In the publication of his UG dissertation, he quoted him several times using a French translation (Clark 1955) (Aparicio Pérez 1976: 128, 142, 154, 219).

Conclusions

The purpose of this article has been to analyse Grahame Clark’s relationship with Spanish archaeology. In the introduction the question was posed to the political significance of these links, given that Spain was under a right-wing dictatorial regime and that Clark’s links with Spain started precisely months after the end of World War II, a confrontation where many lives been lost fighting in against similar governments. As the first part of this article has demonstrated, however, Clark’s connections with Spanish archaeologists do not show in any way that he was either an

active fighter against totalitarianism or, to the contrary, that he was a sympathiser of the extreme political right. It has been argued that most likely he acted as many of his generation; he consciously tried to put archaeology over politics, and this allowed him to continue being in touch with archaeologists living in a variety of countries under many sorts of political regimes, whatever his own ideology was.

One of the major sources of information for this article has been Clark's correspondence, mainly with three of the most important archaeologists of Francoist Spain (1936/39–1975), Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla (1905–1972), Luis Pericot García (1899–1978) and, to a limited extent, Martín Almagro Basch (1911–1984). Through this correspondence we know that they exchanged the specialist journals published by the institutions they were involved with, in addition to other publications. Therefore, in theory, Spanish students could read what was being produced in Britain and British students had access to what was being written in Spain. Despite this, the complaints about the lack of information on Spain given in Clark's books, explicitly commented by Pericot (Pericot 1968a), appears to indicate that, at least in Britain, the Spanish bibliography was not particularly well considered. Clark rarely reviewed books and never publications written by a Spanish author. Although in Spain several of Clark's books were reviewed, mainly by Pericot himself (1944a; 1947–48; 1968a), Clark was never referred to in publications until the 1970s – at least the author of this article has been able to trace no references to him. However, Pericot and Clark seem to have had a very cordial relationship: Pericot stayed in Clark's house in April 1946 and on his trip to England in October 1951 he was shown round the Star Carr exhibition at the Natural History Museum in London by Clark and dined with him twice in Cambridge. Clark encouraged a student, Michael W. Thompson, to write about the Mesolithic Period in Spain and Portugal and arranged for him to be officially supervised by Pericot for six months in Barcelona between 1951 and 1952. However, although in his book *Prehistory at Cambridge and beyond* he mentions many of his students doing research in various parts of the continent, he fails to mention Thompson. Clark also maintained a very cordial relationship with Almagro, to the point that it seems that in the 1960s his interest moved from Pericot to Almagro.

The lack of reference to Spanish archaeology and archaeologists in Clark's books is not related to lack of knowledge on his part. Clark went to Spain apparently for the first time in March 1952, when he gave lectures in Madrid and Barcelona and was shown the Cave of Parpalló in Valencia. He returned in April 1954 to participate in the IV CISPP. The

Clarks also holidayed in a village near to Pericot's holiday home on the coast in August 1959 and Clark again lectured in Madrid in March 1963. He was back for a final time for a UISPP meeting in Zaragoza in September 1964. Pericot and Clark met at the 8th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (1968) held in Tokyo and Kyoto, and finally in Cambridge, where Pericot gave lectures in April 1969 and November 1970, dining with Clark on both occasions. Two years later, Pericot referred to Clark as his good friend (Pericot 1972, 23) (see below). Almagro and Clark probably also met on several other occasions in different parts of the world, although the letters that would confirm the dates and places remain inaccessible.

The correspondence clearly shows that there were connections between both countries. The exchange of publications would have allowed any student in Madrid and Barcelona to read what was being produced in Britain, but the lack of knowledge of the English language must have been a problem. At the time, only French was taught in schools. Despite this, we know that, at least in the case of Barcelona, most of those who studied in the 1930s and 1940s and then obtained chairs at the university, followed in Pericot's footsteps and travelled to Britain (this includes Arribas, Maluquer and Ripoll). However, it is extremely rare to find any references in their books to English authors. It seems that the same happened in England with the Spanish bibliography. Perhaps Michael Thompson could have been the scholar serving as a bridge between both worlds, but the lack of academic jobs at the time did not allow him to gain a university lectureship and his research only resulted in a single article (Thompson 1954) and was not continued. There was a similar lack of jobs in Spain for students graduating in the 1950s and 60s. In both countries one could speak of a "lost generation" (Balcells 2004, 242–243). It was in the 1960s and 70s when a series of Cambridge students started to go to Spain and publish articles about its archaeology, although they were only indirectly related to Clark.

This article has also given some thought to the emergence of an interest in economic and social archaeology in Spanish archaeology. Instead of seeing this as the result of Clark's influence, it has been suggested that a series of works along these lines by Pericot, Tarradell and many others were an echo of the French *Annales* School, translated through the work of the medieval and modern historian, Jaime Vicens Vives, with whom Pericot maintained a close relationship. Clark's actual influence in Spanish archaeology, therefore, was minimal, and it was only in the 1980s that some of his books, by then some several decades old, began to be translated. One cannot but conclude that it was Childe, and not

Clark, who attracted most of the attention of Spanish archaeologists and, judging by the translations, also of those of Latin America. This was indirectly recognised by Pericot when he said:

"My good friend Professor Clark of Cambridge University [...] his studies on the economic life of prehistoric Europe are very important, as have been all other recent trends of English prehistorians that are inspired, to a great extent, by Gordon Childe's ideas (that are currently so popular in our country)" (Pericot 1972, 23).

Finally, it is important to point out that one of the major outcomes of this article is that it has demonstrated that one of the widely-held common certainties among scholars, the belief that personal contacts facilitate better communication at an academic level, does not necessarily hold. They indeed helped the subjects to acquire positions in the international spheres of archaeological power—mainly in the CISPP/UISPP,—they became involved in major international projects and, more than anything else, they obtained prestige. However, contacts did not result in actual scholarly exchange. The lack of a genuine intellectual exchange between British and Spanish archaeology from the 1940s to the 1970s, despite the many dealings between their practitioners, clearly shows that personal contacts were not enough. In order for new ideas to filter from one group to another each group needs to be ready to accept them, and it does not seem that this was the case. Novel proposals can only be received when they make sense within the discussion taking place in the receiving group. One could say that perhaps this may be due to the nature of archaeological material and prehistoric sequence both in Britain and Spain, which were too dissimilar for the member of one group to be interested in what is produced in the other. In addition to this, it could be also proposed that ideas are better propagated when their origin is perceived as being powerful. Neither Spanish nor British archaeology, either before or in the immediate decades after World War II, considered the other as powerful. Britain was now looking to the US as a source of inspiration and Spain was still admiring developments in France and Germany. Clark's proposals regarding economy and society were too different to the main interests in Spanish archaeologists, which lacked a framework to insert and process them. On the other hand, the interests of Spanish archaeologists were too geographically narrow and the discussion was held in a language that British archaeologists could not understand and that they were not ready to make the effort to comprehend. All this led to the failure of actual scholarly exchange, despite all the contacts maintained among the scholars from both countries. A comparison with the situation nowadays would be

very revealing, but the scope of such analysis lies beyond the present work.

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